133 /20 cont./ As in all mountain societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction
[192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/ and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/, annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa-
[137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is "a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts" (2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits
[182] of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Seksawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
• 245 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree, whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
•245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
[361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
[233] by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent. A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all, except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers, at the same time that it transforms them into importers of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing. Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/164 cont./

241 237 343 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain, punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual appurtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245 824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

245 233

/165 cont./
245 offer a wealth of fodder for the flock. A veritable "aerial mead-
233 ow" (1).

(114)

1. The expression is Algerian: Rivière and Lecq, op. laud., t. I, p. 235. Cf. t. I, ibid., pp. 207 sq., and also t. II, pp. 13 sq., an excellent description of the wild forage-flora in North Africa.

It is true that this conjunction between livestock breeding and arboriculture yields immediately to vehement differences in style, going as far as contrast: but this contrast is precisely not of European type. In the Atlas, it is the livestock breeding that is knowing and careful, and the arboriculture offhand, and, as we might say, extensive.

233 The flock gives the impression of a profound adaptation to the country. The sturdiness of the goats, their agility in providing for their subsistence in the most difficult and poorest reliefs make them a redoubtable adversary of the forest. The bovines are small and sturdy. The ovines belong to the same stock as those of the Tubkal, of the Tidili, of the Sirwa: bare legs, head and shoulders relatively high above the feet, the aquiline profile on the ram.

(232) The percentage of black coats corresponds to systematic research on the part of the breeder: the beginning of selection. The latter, to tell the truth, most often operates backwards, the best-developed animals being precisely destined for slaughter. The fat lamb is in fact either a small deposit that is changed into money or the material of numerous family or social rites. Fiduciary economy or feasting thus comes here to limit the technique of the livestock breeder. That is, moreover, a general Maghrebi trait.

However that may be, the practice of sheltering, the ensilage of feed, the /166/ cultivation of fodder, the putting in defense endow the system with all the elements of a modern organization. The animal marvelously performs his role as the provider of meat, of substances to spin, and of fatty materials, tamudit, ultimately
000 coinciding with the product of the olive tree. Milk is never

234 [262] /166 cont./ Milk is never consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses, which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call tak^{w}mmart (1).

[191] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 233 [191] The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course, but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic [171] incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb.

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

• 245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin," tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a [312] concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the séguia water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are [433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc- [426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^{c} u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots [242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some [251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

245 /167 cont./
[178] industry, notably at Ikis. But one could think that the present monotony of species is a recent trait and that their variety was greater in former times. In any case, several indications of this exist in sectors which other traits permit one to consider as having safeguarded better an ancient originality: thus, the I. Geryun and Sekrat. In I. Geryun one finds in open space the shoots of ancient apple trees, Ih'lu, and cherry trees, asemlal.

Thus a lively contrast sets the tree, which grows itself, in opposition to the field, which is made. Whence, in a society with rural, yet firm techniques, a relative and paradoxical disgrace of the arboriculture. The latter is entrusted to fate, whose steps, represented by the drought which shrivels the fruit, the fog which develops the parasites, the wind which makes the flowers fall, and the insect, which God alone knows, escape the action of man. Having reached /168/ such a degree of agricultural quietism, the montagnard will plant no more: for the olive tree, the suckers will take it upon themselves to grow; for the almond tree, it has proliferated once and for all beyond any possibility of maintenance. Generally, the effort of planting is a matter of the great ancestors. Thus with these beautiful squares of olive trees, which surround intercalary crops, as one sees at Taqennurt, in the same style as in all of the Moroccan South. Who planted all that? Mystery. Some speak of Andalous /Andalusia/ for the olive tree, just as any monumental ruin makes one think of the mythical Portuguese. The extreme case is that of the argan tree; to tell the truth, having taken refuge far to the W., it no longer affects our sector. But what a confirmation to what has just been said in the native legend, according to which this tree cannot be replanted! In contrast to the tree, the field, it, in its very material, this earth fashioned into tiers, requiring water and fertilizer, proceeds from a untiring desire. Tree given, field constructed.'

423 245 [171] While for the Mediterranean peasant the tree is individual -- to the point that in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the ownership of a branch is divided among several -- here the usufruct includes an initial share of indivision, and there is a community harvest. Of course,

/168 cont./

423 245 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the collective argan tree). But the "harvest," azegg^{w}ay, is collective. Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the part of an ikhs. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce, it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?

Let us take several examples:

245 476 184 [624] /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section, are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the harvest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which guardians, imchchurd'a, are responsible. The work is collective and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided "by basket," s-taryalt, in proportion to individual rights, after the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the ikhs-s and, within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth [624] for the work force. The imchchurd'a /169/ occasionally take turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one "ties" the valley, qqen. Then one "releases" it, rz'em, zone by [613] zone. The work is done "by echelonment," s-warrabo, among the ikhs-s, whose name here is arktun, plur. arktyun. The practice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to gather them.

/169 cont./

245 476 829 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

[624] "The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of them, which is announced by the imchchurd'a of the village, or by the jemâa, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

[613] "The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to them and placed 'in piles,' s-igud'iwn. The number of these piles is equal to that of the ikhs-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli, etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,' takatin. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or antichreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' aytma, tarwa n-âmmi, ulad el-âmm, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word ikhs. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ᶜOmar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 476 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the analytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact, contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort [613] are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the ikhs and ends at the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

/173 cont./

233 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and coun-
182 try. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

• 245 As for the fruit tree (1),

[171]

1. Vidal, Principes ..., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has
● 245 applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserv-
[241] ing a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstaking clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folk-
[262] lore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these
[443] sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach
[412] nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety
[586] is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

181 a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

• 245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul^{c}wân

241 311 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order):
[103] maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

695 /330 cont./
Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and laftf, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con- [823] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneîn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Dem-
[245] nate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
[443] Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwallal, and of Bou L'ajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are completely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to the north of the Sous valley.

/219 cont./

632 621 [592] When the "mouda^{c}" made up of several hamlets is an active social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions in the name of all.

[554] [613]

623 [346] The meetings of the council of the "mouda^{c}," to which the name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village, such are the little practical problems that the assembly must solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[212] [755] [358] [574]

[185] [241] [245] [624]

[778] [787]

1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

[423]

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
185 nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
241 /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
245 these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
624 again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

623 Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
627 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
681 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
625 most often each "jemaʿt" of a "moudaʿ" fixes these penalties as it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
671 the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
177 "moudaʿ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
632 tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaʿ" often assumes great local importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses, the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaʿt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
346 Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
361 country, on a solitary hill (1).

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*634

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1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaʿ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaʿ." One also sees from

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

[423] The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[621] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[432] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[426] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the